PEACE NEWS

No. 1,167 London, Nov. 7, 1958. 6d. Edition 10 cents US Air Express

MONTY

By Emrys Hughes MP

DID Field-Marshal Montgomery, when he was Chief of the Imperial General Staff, inform the then Minister of Defence (Mr. Shinwell) that unless the Labour Government increased National Service from 12 months to 18 the Army Council would resign?

Mr. Shinwell, in a letter to the Manchester Guardian on Tuesday, says: "I have not the remotest recollection of any such incident."

This is surely a strange business which should be probed into a little further.

We know from Montgomery's book that he endeavoured to get the heads of the other Services to approach the Prime Minister with a view to forcing the resignation of A. V. Alexander from the Ministry of Defence.

This move apparently did not come off because Lord Tedder thought it might be unconstitutional.

But we know that soon afterwards A. V. Alexander was sent to the House of Lords and Shinwell took his place.

This, of course, was pure coincidence!

It is quite clear that Lord Montgomery was prepared to instigate and foment unofficial strikes with a view to bringing pressure on the Government.

Servants or masters?

In view of the fact that the period of conscription was extended it would be most interesting to know what the military chiefs did say to the Government.

The extension of conscription certainly did result in young conscripts having to spend a longer time in the Army, and during this period many of them lost their lives.

It ought to be in somebody's recollection how this came about.

Field-Marshal Montgomery never did have a great deal of respect for politicians. Not so long ago, when asked about consultations about the dropping of the atomic bomb, he expressed the view that he would drop the bomb first and tell the politicians afterwards.

Is policy to be settled by the Government or by the military chiefs who are supposed to be the servants and the masters of the nation?

No time to think

Lord Montgomery has said some other things that require searching investigation.

He has been Deputy Supreme Commander under NATO and should know how the organisation in Paris works.

He has said that the NATO organisation is "cumbersome" and "grossly overstaffed."

"The staffs of the major headquarters have grown beyond all possible peace-time needs and should be ruthlessly pruned."

What is the Government going to do about this allegation by one of the men who knows most about NATO from the inside?

One wonders if this is the first time that Lord Montgomery has said this. Did he say this when he was Deputy Chief Commander? And if so, what notice was taken of it?

According to Montgomery the output of paper is tremendous and so much time is

☐ ON BACK PAGE

1914-18: THE GREAT BETRAYAL

1939-45:?

By ALAN LOVELL

RUPERT BROOKE'S sonnet, "If I should die, think only this of me," is often quoted (particularly in schools) as one one of the supreme expressions of the spirit of patriotism. Since this issue of Peace News appears two days before Remembrance Sunday it is perhaps relevant to recall that the poem is also the expression of a patriot who was supremely DUPED.

The work of historians on the causes and nature of the First World War have added a tragic dimension to the naïve expressions of patriotism made by young people in the first years of that war.

It is clear that the war was not, as it was presented at the time, a war of defence against Germany's wanton aggression. Rather was it another of the terrifying products of the European power struggle.

This is not the time to go fully into the causes and nature of the war. We will merely quote a passage from a very important article in a recent number of Liberation in which Professor Harry Elmer Barnes discusses some of the myths of the First World War, and how historians have dealt with them.

Professor Barnes writes:

The most damaging allegation brought against Germany was that the Kaiser called together a Crown Council of the leading German Government officials, Ambassadors and financier on July 5, 1914, revealed to them that he was about to throw Europe into war, and told them to get ready for the conflict.

MYTHICAL MEETING

The financiers demanded two weeks' delay so as to be able to call in loans and sell securities. The Kaiser acceded to this demand, and left the next day on a well-publicised vacation cruise. This was designed to lull England, France and Russia into a false sense of security while Germany and Austria-Hungary secretly got ready to leap upon an unprepared and unsuspecting Europe.

The first complete statement of this charge appeared in "Ambassador Morgenthau's Story," which was ghost written by a leading American journalist, Burton J. Hendrick.

Professor Sidney B. Fay, dealing with the outbreak of war in 1914, proved from the available documents that this Crown Council legend was a complete myth. Some of the persons alleged to have been at the Council meeting were not in Berlin at the time.

The Kaiser's actual attitude on July 5

● ON BACK PAGE

Women meet nuclear powers' representatives at Geneva

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

ALL three representatives of the nuclear powers conferring in Geneva gave interviews to the British women who flew out to Switzerland last Saturday with a demand for the ending of tests for all time.

In Geneva the British women, Mrs. Mabel Ridealgh, Women's Co-operative Guild; Mrs. Sarah Jenkins, journalist; Mrs. Ann Clark; LCC and Christian Action; Mrs. Frances Hughes, Fire Brigades Union; Mrs. Peggy Darvell, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament; Miss Pat Arrowsmith, Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War and Secretary of the Aldermaston March Committee; Mrs. Anthony Greenwood; Elizabeth Packer, resident in Geneva, were joined by two representatives of the Dutch Albert Schweitzer Committee against Nuclear Tests, Madam J. le Rutte and Madam Klas Brouwer.

Root of the problem

In a statement issued before leaving for London the group said:

"By Sunday morning we had been granted interviews by Mr. Ormsby-Gore, United Kingdom; Mr. Tsarapkin, USSR; and Mr. Wadsworth, USA, at their respective headquarters.

"In all three interviews we were impressed by the hopeful approach to the task before them and their awareness of their tremendous responsibility, and also to their determination that this conference must be a success.

"Unfortunately we felt that the root of the problem to be overcome was the lack of trust stressed by each of the three delegates.

"Each used the phrase 'We must think of our military security.'

"There is already a certain measure of deep agreement, but on two points we found disagreement (a) from the USSR point of view the time limit of one year set by the UK and USA is unacceptable; (b) from the UK and USA standpoint there is the fear that the USSR may not implement an agreement on effective international control and inspection.

"A formula must be found to overcome these differences and an appropriate sense of urgency has permeated these delegations, as illustrated by Mr. Wadsworth's closing remarks: 'I am even prepared to stay here and forgo Christmas at home with my grandchildren. And that means something to me.'

TV at the airport

"It was clear to us that unless agreement was reached nuclear tests would be resumed. This conference must succeed."

About fifty people marched through Friday night from Central London to the centre of the airport, a distance of some 15 miles. There they were joined by nearly 200 other supporters.

The airport authorities opened the roof garden and buffet at 8 a.m. in order that a meeting could be held there. Later TV newsreel cameras whirred as the plane carrying the delegates (who could be seen waving at the windows) taxied by the cheering onlookers.

"Hey, where do WE go if it really thaws?"

Campaign for nuclear disarmament
with this literature

Sanity or Suicide? 6d. (2d.)
Questions and Answers about the Nuclear Threat.
Suicide or Total Peace 1s. 9d. doz. 2d. (2d.)
Kathleen Lonsdale
Britain and the Bomb 6d. (2d.)
Benn Levy
The Great Deterrent 6d. (2d.)
A. J. P. Taylor
Tomorrow's Children 4d. (2d.)
A pamphlet for women
Humanity versus the Hydrogen Bomb 4d. (2d.)
Stan Birkett
Labour and the H-bomb 6d. (2d.)
Emrys Hughes
Deterrence & Retaliation or Christianity 1s. (2d.)
Percy W. Bartlett
Nuclear Nightmare 6d. (2d.)
Association of Scientific Workers
Nuclear Knowledge and Christian Responsibility 9d. (2d.)
Prof. C. A. Coulson
Ethical and Political Problems of the Atomic Age 2s. (2d)
C. F. von Weizsacker
Atomic and Nuclear War—Your Concern in it 1s. 6d. (2d.)
Kenneth G. Robinson
The Atom and the Energy Revolution 2s. 6d. (2d.)
Norman Lansdell
Is Peace Possible? 2s. 6d. (4d).
Kathleen Lonsdale
Some Problems of the Atomic Age 3s. 6d. (4d.)
Prof. C. A. Coulson
Atomic Radiation and Life 3s. 6d. (6d.)
Peter Alexander
Atomic Radiation Dangers and What They Mean to You 7s. 6d. (6d.)
H. W. Heckstall Smith
The Fearful Choice 8s. 6d. (6d.)
Philip Toynbee
No More War 16s. (9d.)
Linus Pauling
Waging Peace 13s. 6d. (9d.)
Sir Richard Acland
Fall Out—Radiation Hazards from Nuclear Explosions (revised edition) 12s. 6d. (8d.)
A distinguished panel of scientists
Brighter than a Thousand Suns 21s. (1s.)
Robert Jungk

Please add postage as in brackets
Special rates for quantities of pamphlets
Bookstall selections sent anywhere "on sale or return."

HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP
3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

MABEL EYLES (DUPLICATING, SHORTHAND, TYPING, TRANSLATING) 395 Hornsey Rd, N.19. MOU 1701.

RACE PREJUDICE IN CHAINS

Alan Lovell reviews a recent film

The Defiant Ones. Directed by Stanley Kramer. On General Release.

A LORRY carrying prisoners to jail overturns and in the confusion two prisoners who are chained together escape. The irony of their escape is that one is white and the other black. They are pursued by a mixed bag of convicts and police.

At first the two prisoners do not get on well together because the white has all the traditional colour prejudices and the Negro is very sensitive to them. But under the stress of the difficulties they meet, they come to have a genuine respect for each other. They are eventually recaptured, having just missed a train that would have taken them to freedom, because the white is injured and the Negro will not go without him.

Stanley Kramer's film is obviously meant as a parable of the relation between whites and blacks. The chain which binds the convicts together is a symbol of this relationship. We are bound together, Kramer is trying to say; any conflicts between us makes life difficult for all of us.

Symbolic chain

The central difficulty of the film is that it is a realist film trying to make a symbolic point. The symbolism is never completely integrated into the film. Too often we only realise that the film is trying to say something of general importance only from points that are made in the dialogue. (We only really become aware of the symbolic nature of the chain after the convicts have been freed from it and the white says he can go no further because of his injured shoulder, the Negro replying: "You're pulling on the chain, Joker.")

This difficulty is made greater by the fact that the film is made inside the conventions of a Hollywood adventure film. No chance is missed to increase the excitement (very quick cutting between the pursued and the pursuers, the transitions being accompanied by sudden shocks like a sudden blaring of music or a shot of the dogs advancing straight towards the camera), even though the general excitement generated makes the film look more like a straight adventure story rather than a film which is trying to make an important point about race relations.

Irrational prejudice

The other problem about "The Defiant Ones" is its central attitude towards the race problem. Generally, it seems to be saying that race prejudice is the product of personal irrationality (the reasons for the white convict's prejudice are his status as an immigrant American and his hatred of the servile jobs he has had to do). If people can only be made to see how irrational their attitudes are race prejudice will disappear. In the film the white's prejudice is made to seem even more absurd by the character of the Negro—he is noble and childlike.

Kramer's attitude

This seems to me to over-simplify the problem too much. Race prejudice is not confined to the under-privileged (though its public expression may be). Nor are all Negroes noble. Surprisingly, perhaps, like whites, most of them are ordinary. Race prejudice springs from a general feeling of insecurity.

Kramer's attitude towards race as he expresses it in "The Defiant Ones" is typical of a general weakness in the attitudes of American liberals. That weakness is to accept the general framework of the society in which they live and to see such ugly things as race prejudice and McCarthyism as only temporary irrationalities which can be defeated by men of intelligence.

Despite all this, Stanley Kramer deserves great praise for his intelligence and courage in producing a film like "The Defiant Ones." It is beautifully lit and photographed and has some very good acting from Sidney Poitier, Tony Curtis and Cara Williams. Go and see it.

IS PACIFISM IMPRACTICABLE?

Ian Funnell—'I write as a Christian'

Our contributor, a Methodist minister's son, is a student at Oxford University. His main interest is politics and he is an active worker in the Liberal Party. He expects to appear before a Tribunal as a conscientious objector next year.

THE Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan, has "great respect" for the pacifist point of view, but thinks it is quite impracticable as a policy. He is voicing a widespread view that pacifism is excellent in theory, but out of the question in practice for a nation like Britain.

Christians usualy defend their non-pacifism on the grounds that their religion is concerned with personal relations between people, and between them and God, and is not applicable to relations between States. It is true that Jesus was concerned with individuals, but since nations are groups of individuals, can we not use His principles in our foreign policy?

A democratic government must carry out the wishes of the majority of its countrymen, and unless it can show them that it is serving their interests it will not be re-elected. A totalitarian government must also serve its supporters, whether they are a landed aristocracy or an industrial class.

The pressure groups and bodies of opinion that influence governments are, by their very nature, concerned solely with their own interests. The cotton manufacturers of Lancashire, for example, want markets for themselves, even if the tariffs they demand cause unemployment and starvation in Japan. Governments cannot avoid putting their own interests before those of other countries.

People are naturally self-centred. The world revolves round them, and they only understand the people they frequently meet, and those that behave like them. Other races, other nationalities, even other classes, are different, and so suspect.

Should there be defence?

I was brought up during the war in an atmosphere of hate for the Germans, and could not understand when peace came how they could suddenly become friends. In wartime we did not see them as ordinary men and women like ourselves.

This may seem an extreme example, but the world is full of similar examples. Loyalty to those with whom we have something in common comes easily, leaving either apathy or enmity for the rest. The subjective difference between *them* and *us* is at the root of all conflicts, preventing a happy settlement, and it explains how apparently enlightened people can be so callous.

People want security, and they expect the government to provide it. While men and women are concerned for their own welfare, and do not notice the pain they inflict on others, military defence is inevitable.

It is doubtful whether our way of life could survive present means of defending it, though we use words and ideas that suggest it could. Non-violent resistance has been suggested as a modern means of defence, but ignores the fact that defence necessitates keeping an aggressor off our territory altogether. Until we give up defending anything, people will continue to play at soldiers.

So the first duty of a pacifist is to get people to think in perspective. What do we wish to defend? Is it worth the loss of our young men, or the destruction of persons and property in all countries involved? Is the choice ours to sacrifice the people of other countries *ad lib*?

Fight for a new life

Political institutions are not sacrosanct, and life continues under occupation. Is our present civilisation worth the suffering and pain that war entails? Is it not better to submit to invasion (if indeed it does come) and then fight for freedom by non-violent resistance and fraternising with the invaders? This, let us be clear, is not *defence* of anything, but a *fight* to start a new life in freedom.

These are the questions that pacifists have answered, but only a few people have equated the rights and interests of others with their own. They may not wish to be selfish, but there are few who are able to see beyond their own sphere of life into the world beyond.

Christianity's message

The basic teaching of Christianity is that all men are equal, no matter what their country, class or creed. It is sadly failing if it denies self-determination to Cypriots, denies equal rights and opportunities to Negroes or Africans, refuses to trade with the Communist bloc, or permits the spread of radio-activity from nuclear tests.

Christianity has as much to say about international affairs as about person relations, because international affairs relate to people. But before it can influence the Foreign Office it must rid the electorate of their insular, their "I'm all right, Jack" attitude towards others.

LIBERATION

The Independent Monthly

CONTROVERSIAL *PERSONALIST*

STANDS FOR NON-VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION AGAINST WAR, SOCIAL INJUSTICE

Contributors include: Vera Brittain, Edmund Wilson, Reginald Reynolds, A. J. Muste, Sir Stephen King-Hall, Martin Luther King, Bayard Rustin, Esme Wynne-Tyson, Claire Huchet Bishop, Kenneth Patchen, Linus Pauling, Lawrence Scott, Albert Bigelow, Wilfred Wellock, Ram Manahar Lohia.

For latest issue send 25c to: Liberation, Dept. K, 110 Christopher Street, NYC 14, USA (in Europe, address care of Housmans, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. England.)

Everyone is ordering **ENDSLEIGH**

Christmas Cards and Gifts

PROFITS TO PEACE NEWS • DISCOUNTS OVER £1 AND FOR BAZAARS

Please send now for a sample selection

COMPLETE SET **11s.** 29 asstd. cards and envs.

Full list of Christmas Cards and Gifts in each packet or send s.a.e.

TRIAL PACKET **2s. 9d.** 9 asstd. cards and envs.

ENDSLEIGH CARDS, (Peace News Ltd.) 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

★★★

GENEVA: FOCUS OF WORLD HOPE

TWO PLEAS TO THE NUCLEAR POWERS

The overwhelming demand for a permanent end to nuclear tests was voiced with renewed vigour with the following appeals from Britain and America to the Geneva Conference.

A WORLD-WIDE appeal "to help make this planet safe and fit for human habitation" has been organised by the American National Council for a Sane Nuclear Policy for presentation on November 11 at the Geneva Conference on nuclear weapons tests which opened on October 31.

A list of international signatories to the appeal includes;

Professor Max Born, FRS, Nobel Laureate, Lord Boyd-Orr, FRS, Nobel Laureate, Canon J. John Collins, Precentor of St. Paul's Cathedral, Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa, a Japanese ecclesiastic, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Trygve Lie, former Secretary General of UNO, Francois Mauriac, Nobel Laureate, Professor M. J. Muller, Nobel Laureate, Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish economist, Dr. Martin Niemoeller, C. Rajagopalachari, Mrs. Roosevelt, Bertrand Russell, FRS, Nobel Laureate, Dr. Albert Schweitzer, and André Trocmé.

The appeal reads:

"To the men at Geneva, representatives of the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom, meeting to negotiate a permament cessation of nuclear weapons tests.

"The fate of man is in your hands.

A chance to serve

"What we offer you is the most precious thing human beings have to give. We offer you our hopes.

"We want you to feel that your job is to help make this planet safe and fit for human habitation.

"We want you to feel that you are representing not just a nation, powerful though it may be, but two billion human beings who represent the ultimate authority on earth.

"No group of men in history have had a bigger or nobler chance to serve their own age and all other ages to come.

"We know there may be many times during your meetings when further discussions will seem fruitless.

Responsible to humanity

"We know there will be in the background many voices actually pushing you in the direction of failure—for it is hard for some men to comprehend the needs and dangers of our times. But this is not the source of your mandate. Your mandate comes from one and only one source—the sovereign will of the human community. It is to this community that you are primarily responsible.

"Naturally, the peace of the world depends on many things besides the control of nuclear weapons. It depends on control of the basic causes of war—injustice, hunger, oppression, aggression, ambition.

"To meet these dangers, we must look to the cause of a stronger United Nations into which has been built the required powers of world law.

"But meanwhile, an important beginning has to be made on one vital part of the problem of world peace—the permanent internationally inspected cessation of nuclear weapons tests.

"This vital beginning is now your responsibility. To that beginning we now invest our hopes, make known our mandate, and wish you well."

Towards more disarmament

AN appeal to the Nuclear Powers signed by a number of Britons eminent in the Arts, Sciences, religious world, trade unions, politics and journalism was sent on October 31 to the British Prime Minister and the American and Soviet Ambassadors.

The appeal emphasises the concern of both eminent and ordinary people everywhere that the Geneva talks should bring about a permanent cessation of nuclear tests and lead on to "further agreements on disarmament."

"If testing continues at its present rate," adds the appeal, "millions of people not only in our own countries but throughout Asia and the Northern Hemisphere will be exposed to increasing danger from radiation." Failure to agree would dash the hopes of all peoples that the Nuclear Powers should come together and stop the nuclear arms race.

SIGNATORIES

Signatories to the appeal include:

Sir Richard Acland, John Arlott, Dame Peggy Ashcroft, Frank Beswick, MP, R. W. Briginshaw, Canon L. John Collins, Bob Edwards, MP, Michael Foot, E. M. Forster, CH, Victor Gollancz, the Bishop of Grantham, Jacquetta Hawkes, Barbara Hepworth, Patrick Heron, Sir Hector Hetherington, KBE, John Horner, Father Trevor Huddleston, the Bishop of Hulme, Edward Hyams, Harry Knight, Doris Lessing, Benn Levy, the Bishop of Llandaff, the Very Rev. George MacLeod, the Bishop of Manchester, Denis Matthews, Sir Francis Meynell, Henry Moore, John E. Newton, the Bishop of Plymouth, J. B. Priestley, Sir Herbert Read, Lord Simon of Wythenshawe, Dr. Donald Soper, the Bishop of Stafford, A. J. P. Taylor, Michael Tippett, Vicky, and Baroness Barbara Wootton.

The following Fellows of the Royal Society were signatories: P. G. H. Boswell, A. W. Downie, K. J. Franklin, J. H. Gaddun, L. Hawkes, W. Heitler, Arthur Holmes, Sir J. B. Hutchinson, N. Kemmer, W. O. Kermack, H. Lipson, John McMichael, E. J. Maskell, A. C. Offord, Stanley Peat, G. Pontecorvo, John Read, D. Thoday, C. H. Waddington, C. M. Yonge, K. Bailey, Lord Boyd-Orr, Arthur Fage, D. J. Finney, S. J. Folley, A. G. Gaydon, Sir Julian Huxley, Sir Ben Lockspeiser, Dorothy Needham, Dr. Joseph Needham, N. W. Pirie and Bertrand Russell.

Professors C. A. Coulson and Joseph Rotblat were also signatories.

House hears appeal for unarmed Britain

DURING the debate on the Queen's Speech when Parliament re-assembled last week, Frank Allaun, M.P. reaffirmed the belief of a number of MPs that Britain should disarm, unilaterally, as the most effective means of ending the threat of nuclear war.

His remarks followed the Prime Minister's ironical congratulations to the leader of the Opposition, Mr. Gaitskell, on being "able to carry the Labour Party Conference in favour of the Conservative Government's policy of manufacturing and having the bomb."

TO SAVE GENEVA TALKS

Frank Allaun, after declaring that he "would go the whole hog" by stopping the tests, the manufacture and stockpiling of the bombs and by removing the US bases, went on to plead for immediate unilateral action of a more limited kind if the Geneva Talks on tests failed.

"I urge that Britain should declare that, in order to reach agreement with America and Russia as well as for other reasons, she will stop permanently, unconditionally and forthwith her nuclear tests."

Such an example, he claimed, would force the two other Governments to follow suit.

"The first step is always the most difficult," he continued. "If we could by the force of our example reach agreement at Geneva on stopping tests, I believe we could proceed to stop manufacture and stockpiling and eventually deal with our political problems as well.

"If the Government would do this the whole world would breathe a sigh of relief because the shadow of being wiped out would be lifted from us."

Give up the Bomb say 77 per cent

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

A CAREFULLY conducted door-to-door campaign in the Wythenshawe district of Manchester has so far revealed a 77 per cent support for the "abolition of nuclear weapons by Britain, if necessary alone."

The survey is continuing as part of an attempt by the local Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament to find out how many Wythenshawe people actually support the Campaign's policy.

They have published the following interim analysis from the survey of 440 electors conducted during October in Brownley Road, Benchill.

People are concerned

Electors interviewed: Yes, 293 (77.1 per cent); No, 33 (8.7 per cent); Don't know, 40 (10.5 per cent); No opinion or would not state it, 14 (3.7 per cent).

Not interviewed: three times out, 31; permanently away, 10; ill or deceased, 8; moved away, 14.

"The Campaign believe that this outstanding result will be found to be typical of the whole of Wythenshawe," the Rev. J. J. Vincent, Chairman of the local Campaign, said last week.

"People have been found to be extremely concerned about the question, and have often signed the petition, though confessing themselves to supporting the present Government in other regards." (Wythenshawe has a Conservative MP. Maj., 2822.)

WORTH WHILE

A NORTH COUNTRY farmer is reported to have asked his bank manager, "What is the value of the pound?" Having tried to make certain that he understood the question, the bank manager replied:

"Well, if you take the official figures of what the pound can buy now as compared with, say, 1939, it is worth about 5s. 6d."

Whereupon the farmer put 16s. 6d. on the desk, saying, "All right, give me three of them." Incidentally, if he had put down a sovereign he could have got well over £2 for it!

The truth is that the real value of money lies in what it will buy. It is the symbol of the services we have rendered, and until it has been changed into something which represents the services of others, it is of no real use to us. The value of your money so far as pacifism is concerned lies in how much time it can buy of those who are the paid servants of the Movement, how many posters can be designed, or leaflets printed in return for it.

In the case of all our expenditure, as all realise in their own personal budget, the pound will not buy today anything like what it did when the Peace Pledge Union first began. Although we cannot undertake to send you three pound notes for 16s. 6d., we do our best to ensure that full value is given for every subscription or donation sent to Dick Sheppard House.

We are always glad to dispose of sovereigns or gold in the shape of old bracelets or other forms of jewellery (such as we received, for instance, during the last week) for Headquarters Fund or to accept with real gratitude any contribution by way of cheques, postal orders or stamps.

Whatever else your gift is worth, it is very worth while to us in the endeavour to raise £1,250 for the PPU Headquarters Fund by the end of the year.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,250.

Amount received to date: £783.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

UP AND DOING

A winner from Epsom

EVERY Friday evening from 5 p.m. to 7 p.m. tired travellers off London trains have a chance to study form in a big way at Epsom railway station. No, it is not only the local race meetings or football clubs that are in question; it is life or death, peace or war. PN is on sale and its readers have a chance of studying the odds on human survival and themselves piling up the odds in its favour by bringing pressure to bear on irresponsible statesmen.

Who does the job?—the Epsom Pacifist Fellowship complete with posters and a supply of PN which they receive from us each week. Here is a tremendous opportunity for local groups everywhere. If a couple of hours could be set aside every Friday night for waylaying train travellers at local stations, hundreds of thousands of people could be contacted and a most valuable pacifist witness carried out.

Help to turn Friday night into "Peace Night." We can supply the posters and papers on sale-or-return (without obligation as the adverts say) and the rest is up to you. How many people will follow the lead of this winner from Epsom?

MICHAEL RANDLE.

To PEACE NEWS, 3 BLACKSTOCK ROAD, LONDON, N.4.

★ I want to campaign for peace. Send me..... dozen PEACE NEWS this/next/every week at 3s. a doz., post free, and on a monthly account.

★ Please send me the address of the nearest pacifist group.

★ Please send trial subscriptions to my friends (list attached) at 2s. 6d. for eight weeks, post free.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

.....

.....

Editor's Notebook

Remembrance day

STUART MORRIS, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, has been invited by the Rev. John Wansey to preach at the evening service on Remembrance Day in the parish church at More Crichel in Dorset, near Wimborne, Dorset.

The evening service is chiefly held for the girls of Cranborne Chase School although it is the normal parish Evensong. After the service Stuart Morris will be giving a talk to the school.

To-morrow night's BBC "Scrapbook for 1918" (9.15 to 10.30 p.m. Home Service) will enable listeners to hear Vera Brittain, Chairman of Peace News, who is taking part in this programme.

Leslie Baily, creator of the "Scrapbook," and a pacifist, has once again written the script.

Other famous voices in the programme are those of Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart, who spent part of 1918 imprisoned in the Kremlin; R. C. Sheriff, author of Journey's End; Sir Egbert Cadbury (military side of the family!); Sir Philip Gibbs, front line correspondent; Percy Merriman and Leslie Sarony.

The peacemaker's heritage

MUCH has been written on the subject of war and peace and much that has been written is in danger of being forgotten. That is why I propose finding space in this Notebook in the weeks ahead for quotations which, to my mind, form part of "the peacemaker's heritage."

I am indebted to one or two friends who are helping in the selection. Suggestions from other readers will be welcome.

THE EDITOR.

War and Democracy

Thousands of men in this country voluntarily enlisted to fight for democracy only to find that democracy was being done to death behind their backs. . . War and democracy are antithetical ideas. It matters not whom we fight—if as a nation we were to wage war with the inhabitants of the moon, democracy would vanish in the process. For the ideal of democracy is human equality, and the ideal of war is dominance.

—Max Plowman, "War and the Creative Impulse," 1919.

PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

Editorial and Publishing office:
3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
Tel: STAmford Hill 2262

Distribution office for U.S.A.:
20 S. Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Registered as a newspaper. Second class postage paid at Philadelphia, Pa.

Escape from reality

MR. JOHN CHAPMAN, Labour candidate for Southgate, supporting British manufacture of the H-bomb in a debate which took place last week, said he was glad that the Rev. D. A. Rhymes had argued for unilateral nuclear disarmament for he was a Christian minister.

"They should denounce war," said Mr. Chapman; "they should say 'thou shalt not kill' all the time."

For one who went on to argue for immense preparations for the slaughter of great numbers of people this would seem an extraordinary attitude if it was not an attitude that is becoming increasingly common.

Presumably, while Mr. Chapman wants all Christian ministers to give this kind of teaching, he nevertheless hopes that their guidance will be disregarded. If it were not, it might become impossible to carry out the policy that Mr. Chapman, along with most candidates of both parties, regards as necessary for the defence of this country.

Such a declaration, without any attempt to reconcile the obvious contradition that it involves, does not, we believe, indicate hypocrisy so much as a very dangerous irresponsibility.

Mr. Chapman was really trying to set aside certain of today's realities that he does not wish to face up to: for he is a political "realist," and such "realism" does not today take into account many important factors in our situation. "Realism" is an escape; a shield against the existing facts of life.

★ ★

THERE are other examples of Mr. Chapman's attitude.

Our attention was drawn to this "flight from reality" by a review in last Friday's Daily Telegraph. In this, Mr. Peregrine Worsthorne, a conscientious and candid writer, reviews a group of books dealing with armaments and foreign policy. The last of these books is Sir Richard Acland's "Waging Peace." Mr. Worsthorne's concluding comment on this is "One starts out mocking, but this reviewer, who likes to think himself hard-headed, found it difficult to ignore the ring of prophetic truth."

Difficult, but not, we fear, impossible; for the chances are that when Mr. Worsthorne comes to write again on this subject the prophetic truth will have departed from his mind. We do not say this only because of the character of the newspaper for which Mr. Worsthorne writes, but because he had already displayed this common ambivalence in the article we are discussing. This opens with a note on M. Raymond Aron's book "On War," and of this Mr. Worsthorne says: "Being an intellectual, and not a politician, M. Aron tends to argue to a conclusion rather than a decision. He helps to make us think rather than act. Those who want to be told what the West should do here and now will be better served by Thomas Findletter's book on American foreign policy, which attempts to hammer out new programmes for the Middle East and all the other troubled areas."

We have not read M. Aron's book, and we do not anticipate that he will have reached the same conclusions as Sir Richard Acland.

The difference, however, that is drawn between the "conclusion" that is reached on the basis of an intellectual examination and the "decision" to be reached by a "sound and sensible" politician seems to us to have great significance.

★ ★

AT a time like the present, when the existence of the H-bomb has created a completely new situation in world history, the problem of man's survival on this planet can only be dealt with by means of a radical change in policy. It is only the roots of policy that are worth dealing with.

If the tree represented by traditional policies has become a poison tree there is no point in pruning and re-directing its branches. We need a tree with a different root.

The pacifist approach ("the root is man," as Dwight Macdonald once put it) of a voluntary abandonment of arms without the threatening and dangerous procedures of negotiation in the spirit of war is the only realist way to meet the new problem. A continued refusal to face reality will lead to inevitable destruction.

The pacifist method of disarmament by example is, of course, a risky way. But it has at least a chance of success. Those like Mr. Chapman and Mr. Worsthorne who seek disingenuous ways of acknowledging the truth while excluding it from their "practical" calculations are merely seeking for a way of not looking at reality.

New moves on the Rapacki plan

THE Rapacki Plan for an atom free zone in Central Europe goes back to October, 1957, when it aroused considerable interest and discussion. It was brought to the fore again on February 15, 1958, when the Polish Foreign Minister, after whom it is named, received the Ambassadors of the USSR, USA, France and Great Britain, as well as those of Czechoslovakia and Eastern Germany and the Chargés d'Affaires of Canada and Denmark, and handed them a memorandum on the same subject, with further explanations. He also sent this memorandum to the Government of Western Germany, through the Swedish Embassy.

Greatly condensed, the Rapacki proposals amounted to this: Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Western Germany should be turned into a de-nuclearised zone, from which nuclear weapons, missile bases, and similar installations were to be banned, and which would be guaranteed by all the Powers against atomic attack.

Western objection, in which the attitude of the German Federal Republic was a strong factor, is that this atom free zone would leave Russia preponderance in conventional arms and numerical forces undisturbed and becoming even more important under the ban on atomic weapons.

This disregards two things: That the coming into existence of the zone would be a step forward towards an improved international atmosphere; and that the Polish memorandum, obviously written with Soviet consent, contained the following observation:

> "The Government of the Polish Peoples Republic *has reason to state* (our italics) that acceptance of the proposal . . . will facilitate the reaching of an agreement relating to an adequate reduction of foreign armed forces stationed on the territory of the states included in the zone."

The Russians are therefore seen to be willing to reduce their conventional forces—a fact also indicated by their shift from military to economic rivalry.

Now the Rapacki Plan is becoming news again on account of Mr. Rapacki's visit to Norway and his presumed search for that country's support. It should not be turned aside contemptuously, particularly because it is probable that a halfway-house between it and the British Labour Party's Gaitskell Plan might well be found.

As we go to press the outline of Mr. Rapacki's amended proposals is reported from Warsaw. It will be dealt with in our next issue.

'Top people's Aldermaston'

THE most pungent comment that has been made on the nuclear tests conference at Geneva was Abu's cartoon in last Sunday's "Observer." Captioned "Top People's Aldermaston," it showed Eisenhower in a declamatory attitude carrying a placard demanding "Stop H-Tests" with the smaller phrase following "for one year," and several other Western statesmen carrying similar placards of the type seen in the Aldermaston March, similarly qualified; the most devastating of these being "Save Future Generations—for one year."

This cartoon is, of course—and rightly—aimed at the Western attitude, but an equally pungent comment can be made on the attitude of the Russians. In the last issue of Le Combat Pour la Paix, the French organ of the World Peace Council, Professor John Bernal writes that fall-out from nuclear explosion experiments represents "certain and painful death for thousands of men throughout the world."

"If each country undertakes now to add new tests these tens of thousands of people will become hundreds of thousands, and the air and the soil will be contaminated for many years after the cessation of the experiments."

Nevertheless, while the West talks about suspension for one year Russia is claiming the right to go on with its tests without cessation unless the West accepts unqualified discontinuance. Each side is ready to be the cause of thousands more "certain and painful deaths" and the jeopardising of the mental and physical health of future generations as a means of bringing pressure to bear on its cold war enemy.

A year of talk

THE whole year has been spent in talking about the possibility of representatives of the cold war states coming together to see if some step may be taken towards decreasing the danger of cold war turning into H-bomb war. Looking back over the months, the manœuvring, the advancing and retreating, on both sides, appears unbelievable as representing the attempts by mature and responsible people to remove the danger of war in an increasingly desperate situation.

To those who are only able to follow these "Yes we will; no we won't" manœuvres through a reading of newspapers the thing becomes so depressingly fantastic as to discourage a continuance of interest. It is these tortuous procedures, combined with the unparallelled horror of the core of the problem, that brings the average man to give up in despair any attempt to follow what is happening.

Issues at Geneva

TWO months before this year of "smart" and sly manœuvring reaches its close we are dubiously entering upon the one international consultation between the Cold War Powers that it has been possible to achieve, not a "summit" meeting, not even a meeting at the level of Foreign Ministers, but a preliminary examination by subordinates, to see whether something can be done to stop nuclear tests. These talks follow an examination by the technical experts of all the powers concerned, who reached agreement that it would be possible to keep a check on future tests, and set out the preparations that will be necessary to do this.

PERSPECTIVE

At the outset of this present meeting the Western powers are proposing a year by year suspension, which will enable them to renew testing should there be no agreement on the controls to be applied. It is possible also that the Western powers mean to use this year by year stipulation as a means to bargaining for the extension of the control apparatus to the supervision of proposals for arms reduction.

The Russians on the other hand are demanding an unqualified abandonment of tests all round, in default of which they threaten to proceed with their own tests without a break. Some observers draw the inference that the Russians are taking this line because they do not propose to agree to the control measures, in the preparation of which their own experts co-operated. We hope this is not true, but it would be in line with the past Russian attitude to proposals for inspection involving the introduction of foreign observers on Russian soil.

Quite apart from the obstacle that such an attitude would prove to the abandonment of tests, it would have the effect of relieving the Western powers, and particularly the USA, of a tough problem with which they would otherwise be confronted. The control plan requires that a number of control posts shall be established in China, and the negotiation of this aspect of the arrangements clearly cannot be undertaken without the full acceptance of the Peking Government as a negotiating body and will raise anew and forcefully the question of the position of the Chinese Government in the world order.

In regard to the immediate problem that is before the participating powers we hope that one side or the other will give way in regard to the rights being claimed to continue tests.

We hold that the Western powers have acted with a woeful disregard for human welfare in not immediately following the Russian suspension last March.

They should now feel it all the more incumbent upon them not to fuss about the way they are to be brought to an end in the present talks. If the Western powers are too wrapped up in their "realpolitik" calculations to do this we hope that the Russians will forego their claim to catch up on the headway in testing made by the Western powers since the Russian suspension. The UN Political Committee, incidentally, has called upon all the nuclear powers not to undertake tests while the Geneva talks are going forward.

Quemoy's odd day

THE rhythym of the bombardment of Quemoy, with its shelling on odd days and no firing at all on even days, was broken sharply on Monday. Being an odd day, it had been expected to be peaceful. Instead, after a lull of 48 hours a total of 76,431 shells were fired at the island in a bombardment described by the Nationalist Defence Ministry as the heaviest since the ending of the 15 days cease-fire a fortnight earlier.

It is the belief of a number of observers that the stop-and-go bombardment is a novel measure of warfare in which a number of psychological factors are intended to play their part.

One of them is the assumption that the nuisance and terror of any particular day's bombardment is intensified by the contrast with the previous 24 hours' peace; the second one, that this dreary alternation is likely to force the idea into people's minds—the outside world's as well as the local population's—that the whole situation is too senseless to be allowed to continue. Communist China thereby hopes to split up Chiang Kai-shek's supporters while also making it easier for the Americans to become gradually more accommodating in their attitude to the issue of the off-shore islands.

The situation still remains a danger to world peace, but it is not without hope of a compromise solution.

PEACE NEWS STANDARD RATES
3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4
Great Britain and Abroad (Sea Mail)
Three months 8s.; six months 16s.; one year 30s.
AIRMAIL SUBSCRIPTION RATES
N. Africa and Middle East
Three months 8s. 8d.; six months 17s. 4d.; one year 34s.
India, South, East and West Africa
America and South-East Asia
Three months 9s. 9d.; six months 19s. 6d.; one year 38s.
Australia and Far East
Three months 10s. 10d.; six months 21s. 8d.; one year 42s.
An Express Edition
to US and all parts of America, from our US Sales Office, c/o American Friends Service Committee, 20 South Twelfth St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.
$5 year $1 three months

December First is . . .

PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY

Do not forget to send a Christmas greeting to the World's gaoled war resisters. A list of those whose names and addresses are known will appear in Peace News on November 28.

A selection of 120 suitable cards, with envelopes, and greetings in many languages, is available for 21s. post free from PEACE NEWS Christmas Card dept.

ENDSLEIGH CARDS,
3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

GET NATURE TO DO THE WORK — Get the

Gardener

THE NEW GROW - IT - YOURSELF MONTHLY has become Britain's top circulation gardening monthly because it shows you how to make nature do the work in a completely new system of gardening.

GROW YOUR OWN HEALTH. The essential portion of your diet including eggs and honey on the smallest plot for **One Hour's Work a Week**, and cut out vitamin pills, tonics and the irritation of minor illnesses. Regular features include: **Articles by Newman Turner and Barbara Woodhouse, "My Uncommon Garden," big Pet Section, Gardening gadgets to do it for you.**

SPECIAL OFFER to Peace News Readers: 12 issues for £1 post free.

The Gardener

Small Livestock and Pet Owner. Edited on the farm by
Newman Turner and W. E. Shewell-Cooper
Monthly 1s. 6d.; 22s. a year, post free.
FERNE, SHAFTESBURY, DORSET

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Civil defence postmark

THE sight of our valiant defenders against the H-bomb (each one of which would equal 1,500 Hiroshimas), garbed in battle-dress and tin-hat and carrying their CD dustbin lid has been insulting the common sense of millions who have had their personal mail postmarked by the GPO over the past month.

The postmark shown can be used by supporters of nuclear disarmament to express the truth. Designs can be cut on ordinary duplicating stencils using stylus and plate. Due allowance must be made for drying out, since manilla envelopes are

CIVIL DEFENCE
ND-FUTILE
EXPENSE

non-absorbent. When duplicating, the mark should be kept well over to the left to avoid franking marks. CND groups might well buy envelopes in bulk for this purpose, mark and sell at a small profit for group funds. Let's have a month of ND postmarks now! — **AUSTIN UNDERWOOD, 4, Earls Road, Amesbury, Wilts.**

'Quaker Peace'

MR. P. R. LANE is on the warpath against Quakers. He has perhaps exaggerated what he looks upon as our failings, but which some of us believe are our credits. We probably failed in the "Lion's Den," but not for the reasons he ascribes. "A very worthy ethical society, with a somewhat hazy belief in the Inner Light," some of us Quakers will gladly accept as roughly true. (Some will not.)

George Fox may have held a "central conviction of the Divinity of Christ"; some of us modern Friends have recognised the divinity in man—perhaps all men. We are glad we have progressed with the passing of the centuries.

Mr. Lane evidently believes that real pacifists must be Christians, although even the law acknowledges other sorts. They must be evangelical Christians, too: "Men born again by an effective preaching of Christ and His resurrection." There must be a great majority of such "Believers" in the Churches and Chapels. How comes it then that so few of them are pacifists? It is these very evangelicals who will not touch politics with a barge pole. Not many of them but would shrink from accepting a copy of Peace News.

The "Lions" might have done better. Brian Horrocks, and most debaters with pacifists, artfully or innocently put us in a dilemma by asking what we should have done in, say, 1914 and 1939, and why we eat food convoyed through blockade. We shall always be tripped up so long as we accept the militarists' dates. In 1914 and 1939 wars were inevitable. One must reap what has been sown. But the position was not hopeless in 1906.

Many citizens protested in vain against the foreign policy of Sir Edward Grey. *The 1939 war started in* 1919 with the Versailles Treaty, and the continuing of the blockade of Germany after the Armistice. It will be common knowledge to all, the fight that the Quakers and pacifists and the Independent Labour Party carried on for nearly twenty years to get that war-making Treaty revised.

We may be cheekily asked, if any survive after the next war, what should we, as pacifists, have done at the outbreak? The answer in every case is that we did our level best to remedy grievances, and right the wrongs of recent victories that inevitably led to new wars.—**FRANK R. HANCOCK, 'Gabriels,' Charmouth, Dorset.**

Italian neutrality

MAY I please correct what I wrote in your paper in two letters dated March 11, 1955, and July 26, 1957?

I thought it was possble to obtain a status of permanent neutrality for Italy, similar to that obtained by Switzerland in 1815, and that a law should be approved by the Italian Parliament according to the eleventh and seventy-first articles of the Italian Constitution.

But that was a mistake. During the work of preparing Italy's constitution, deputies (Calosso, Cairo, Chiarmello, etc.) asked that Italy might be permanently neutral, but the majority of the juridical commission refused to allow this proposal to become an article of the Italian constitution.

Now, however, it is possible, according to the one hundred and thirty-eighth article of the Italian constitution for some MPs to change the eleventh article of the constitution in line with Salosso's proposal.—**OSVALDO LASAGNA, 7 Via C. Fusco, Castellammare di Stabia (Napoli), Italy.**

Mrs. Brown and occupation

I SUSPECT that all Reginald Reynolds' Mrs. Browns have a vague picture in their minds of the horrors of living in a country which had not fought back against the dictators.

Having been fed on stories of concentration camp horrors and stories of Hitler's plan to deport the male population of Great Britain after conquest, and never having suffered the worst of war's horrors, nor had them brought so vividly or consistently before her, it does not seem surprising that she should prefer war to pacifism.

Leaving aside the question of passive resistance to Hitler, has anyone given serious thought as to what life would probably have been like if Hitler had not been resisted? (In theory it would have been dreadful, but in theory the life of the ordinary German under Hitler should have been dreadful. For some, of course, it was. But even the lot of the Jews and the inmates of the concentration camps was made worse, much much worse by the war.)

But the man in the street, the man whom Hitler despised, seems to haxe suffered little or nothing under Hitler. Members of the Hitler Youth seemed quite normal in prisoner of war camps in England. Hitler had not been able to affect their normal human qualities.

Of course, if we fought and were invaded and continued to fight from the roof tops, etc., then there would be horrors indeed.

But if we had not fought at all? Most pacifists surely believe it would have been a lesser evil than war. But what would it actually have been like? Until we get this picture reasonably clear in our own minds it will never be transmitted to our Mrs. Browns, and it is this picture, I think, which affects Mrs. Brown more than anything else. **H. DALBY, 17 Newstead Rd., Middlesbrough.**

The day of the forgotten lives

By Clifford Macquire

Minister of Trinity Church, Glasgow.

HE got married in full-dress uniform—complete with sword. When the service was over, as he descended the steps to the vestry, his sword tripped him up and he spent his honeymoon in hospital with a broken leg. Swords are not even good ornaments. The day will come when hydrogen bombs will be as old-fashioned as swords, though men will not wear them at ceremonial weddings, I imagine.

Remembrance Sunday is here again. The bands will play, the bugles sound, the uniforms will be brushed and the medals polished for their annual outing.

We remember lists of names, but we have forgotten that for which those, whose names we remember, believed they fought and killed and died.

They believed that they were building a new world in which swords and bayonets and bombs would be ornaments of archaic interest only. They believed they were making a world in which war would be no more. They fought a war to end war. Do they know how easily their children and their children's children have forgotten? Remembrance so ill describes our contemporary Remembrance Sunday. It is only rightly celebrated as men remember the purpose for which their fathers fought.

It will be well, too, to remember that our failure confirms that our own generation has not yet learned the testimony of history—that war sows the dragon's teeth of future conflict; that those who take the sword—no! the hydrogen bomb, will perish by the hydrogen bomb. They of 1914-18 believed that those they left behind would break the vicious circle. But those who were left forgot.

They of the World War I believed that the lights they watched go out over Europe would be re-lit, not by mass incendiarism, but by devotion to Christian values in terms of human welfare. But men have forgotten and, instead, have turned the memory of those years into an occasion of ceremonial parade, and continue to prepare a light "brighter than a thousand suns."

"Mother," said young Bill, after a great crash, "you know that vase which has been in our family for ever so many generations. Well, this generation has dropped it." The vicious circle *can* be broken. And by every decision to disarm oneself, by every decision to renounce war, by every decision to enthrone love, it *is* broken. The day of such decision is the true time of remembrance.

Special postal offer to new readers

8 PEACE NEWS 2s. 6d.

(US 13 weeks for $1)

Please send PEACE NEWS for.....
to the name and address below.

I enclose £.....
NAME
.....
ADDRESS
.....
.....

PEACE NEWS
3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4

NOW AVAILABLE . . .

Fellowship 1958 Cards

attractive, colourful and inexpensive cards that speak the Christmas message of peace and goodwill to all men.

1. "Peace on Earth" 2s. doz. Attractive single card in red and white.
2. "God was in Christ" 4s. doz. Beautiful double card, design by Marjorie Anderson, in two colours.
3. Welsh Card 4s. doz. Design as No. 2, words by Gwilym Tilsley.
4. International Card 4s. doz. Design as No. 2, greetings in Welsh, English, French, German, Latin and Russian.

(ALL CARDS SUPPLIED WITH ENVELOPES)

Send NOW for a standard packet (non-returnable) price 1s. 6d. post free
(containing one No. 1, two No. 2 and one No. 4)

ALSO AVAILABLE: PEACE DIARY for 1959, price 3s. 6d. (post 4d.)

Obtainable from
THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION, 29 GREAT JAMES STREET, LONDON, W.C.1

FRIENDSHIP CALENDAR 1959

For the first time in **full colour** this calendar provides for every home something of the warm human interest and scenic splendour that is met with in the mission fields. Quotations to each picture. Quarterly sheets. Price 4s. postage 5d.

Published by the London Missionary Society and available from:
LIVINGSTONE BOOKROOM
42 Broadway, London, S.W.1.
Also obtainable from Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

This is Russia as I saw it

By MILTON MAYER

This is the conclusion of "The View From the Metropol Window," by Milton Mayer, the well-known American writer, who recently returned from a visit to the Soviet Union. Last week he dealt with his response to Russian character, manner and bearing. The author here continues the description of the myths that fell apart.

THEY may be terrified, all of them, without looking, walking, talking, or acting terrified. But of whom, and of what? The Government? The dictatorship? But what if they believe—and don't merely say—that their Government is representative, and that they obey their Government's laws with no more or less terror than we do ours? What then?

The Russians I talked to, all of them, seemed to believe that when they said it. And when I said "Beria," they said "Rosenberg," and when I said "Hungary," they said "Lebanon" and even "Guatemala," and so it went. And when they said "Free elections" and I said, "But all the candidates have to be Communists," they said, "And in America all the candidates have to be anti-Communists."

They seem to have no real sense of political liberty, no awareness at all of the right of fundamental dissent as the very first principle of social organisation. Within the system they wrangle furiously; the last parliamentary debate over the decentralisation of the tractor collectives, for instance. *But always within the system.* And in the area of foreign affairs—which for 40 years has had the character of national emergency—the uniformity of Press and people is very depressing.

◆ ◆ ◆

Here, above all, one concludes tentatively but forcibly that these intelligent, if long isolated, people are convinced that neither they themselves nor their elected representatives have competence, and that the executive elite always rules right.

The contrast with, say, France or Italy, where every third man is a revolutionary, *rejecting the system* itself, is acute. There, one says instantly, is liberty, and the only liberty the Soviet system does not allow: the liberty to reject the system. But is the comparison with the United States—especially in the light of our pretension to the love of liberty—as unflattering to the Russians?

We Americans are at liberty, if we are rich, to buy this car or that, to move to this town or that one (if we are either rich or jobless), to send our children to private or public schools. But I do not see that we are much better off than the Russians in terms of the liberty to attack *the system itself* and campaign for its overthrow; the exception being except for a miniscule and detested section of our Press (though that is certainly something).

◆ ◆ ◆

I argued with the Russians I met—not, remember, the Man in the Street. They gave me a very hard time. But the hardest time of all was given me by young Mr. Vassiliev, who interviewed me for the Moscow "Literary Gazette." I spoke my piece freely and fully, and Mr. Vassiliev said nothing. But the next day he telephoned to ask when I was leaving Moscow because, he said, he would arrange to have my fee paid if I were leaving right away. In a couple of days, I said; and the next day he arrived with 500 roubles.

Now 500 roubles buys an old *shahkhmahti* (chess set) and 500 roubles, at the blocked rate for tourists, cost $50, which I did not have to spend. But the 500 roubles, since I could not take them out of Russia in cash, or get dollars for them, I could spend on an old *shahkhmahti* in as good conscience as anyone can ever have buying an old *shahkhmahti*. Mr. Vassiliev laid the roubles on the line and asked me to sign the Gazette's receipt for the fee. I told him that in America interview were never paid for; he told me that in Russia they always are. Then I told him I had a problem.

"My problem," I said, "is this. What I said here I would say in America, with, however, more difficulty in getting it published. But what I have said here will not be published until next week, when I am gone, and you have already told me that you may have to cut the interview, because of length. But in cutting it somebody—not you—may cut what I said about Hungary, for instance. Now I know you have promised me that that would not happen, but interviewers for the Chicago Tribune have made me the same promise and their superiors broke it for them."

"Then," said Mr. Vassiliev, speaking for the first time, "you do not have an exactly free Press in America."

"Not an exactly," I said, "but let me go on. If—just *if*, mind you—that happened here, and I was accused in America of having given you an interview in which I condemned Russian practices, I could defend myself by saying that the Literary Gazette had committed the Chicago Tribune's habitual crime of contextomy against me. But if I am accused, in addition, of having taken Moscow gold for the interview, I would be in terrible trouble," and I sighed.

"With whom?" said Mr. Vassiliev.

"With Senator McCarthy," I said.

"But I thought that Senator McCarthy was dead," said Mr. Vassiliev.

"He is," I said, "but his soul goes marching on."

"Mr. Mayer," said Mr. Vassiliev, after a pause, "you said in your interview that you were an American liberal."

"I am," I said.

"Then," said Mr. Vassiliev, with a question mark, "the liberals in America are also afraid of Senator McCarthy?"

Those were Mr. Vassiliev's words, and those were mine, and you ought to see my old *shahkhmahti*.

The Russians I met simply cannot, I think, bring themselves to think very much about personal political liberty—and, if not the cosmopolitan Russians, certainly not the uncosmopolitan. I don't suppose that they ever have, on the whole, except for liberty from shoelessness. I don't know how much we Americans think about liberty these days. We talk about it, I know; and the Russians talk about peace, and I don't know how much they think about peace.

◆ ◆ ◆

I know that the Russians grumble; some of them grumbled to me. They grumble about bureaucracy, and about shortages, and about prices, wages, hours and working conditions. And the farmers—just imagine!—grumble. But I couldn't get them to grumble about liberty, the few I met, not even to defend its restriction (as they might have, had they wanted a rationale) on the ground of national emergency, which President Eisenhower so recently argued in defence of the restriction of the right of Americans to travel.

Maybe there is fundamental dissent among as many as one per cent of the Russians, or of the Americans; but I doubt it. Maybe, praising Communism so effusively as in itself to make a sophisticated American suspicious of their earnestness, or at least of their sophistication, they dispraise it in their hearts. Maybe the counter-revolution for which we waited from 1918 to 1935 and for which we thereafter prayed in some of our churches, is brewing in secret. I doubt it. I saw no signs—not even secondary signs.

Forty years is a long time. There are not many Old Bolshevics left, and still fewer Old Anti-Bolsheviks.

Nazism was a hideous affair, no more in practice than in theory, and its theory, the theory of *natural* slavery, is much more popular in the United States than it is in the Soviet Union. Decent Germans should have resisted Nazism on its theory alone. But, on the whole, they didn't, any more than decent Americans, on the whole, do. Nazism promised and delivered bread and work, and when, after the war, I pointed out to a very simple-minded ex-Nazi that he had had no free speech, he said, "Who wants to make a speech?"

Who wants to make a speech? Not many Germans. Not many Americans. And not, I suppose, many Russians. If they find the theory of Communism much less hideous than the Germans should have found the theory of Nazism, and if, in practice, they have bread and work, I can imagine that, like other people, they do not see why they should assassinate their rulers who walk much more freely and unguarded among them than ours walk among us.

◆ ◆ ◆

The Russians I *looked* at seem to be cheerful, the most cheerful people I have ever seen, and not, like the Germans under Hitler, euphoric. And, while a couple of thousand is not a couple of hundred million, I cannot believe, would I want to, that a whole people, in the town, in the country, can look like what they are not; no government that ever was or will be can make people smile.

When we met a troupe of fifth-graders with their teacher, and they clustered around us and danced and jabbered and said, "I—talk—the—English," A. J. Muste said what the rest of us thought: "These are beautiful, natural, happy children. To associate *this* spectacle with repression, inhibition, fear, and dictatorship is impossible."

Anomaly? Plenty of anomaly; profound anomaly, as, I dare say, a foreigner finds in America, the land of the free, with unfreedom practised and even principled.

The colossal anomaly is everywhere and instantly apparent: on the one hand, the whole behaviour of these people conspires to convince the visitor that they are individualistic by temperament to the point of anarchy, self-standing, self-assured, self-minded; and, on the other, they respond, adequately and contentedly, though with never a goose-step, to a collectivism incongruous to that temperament.

The lady bus conductor on Line 63 in Moscow takes a snooze in the back seat at the end of the line, awakening only when the bus jerks into motion; her indifference to authority (if there *is* any authority), to the bus line inspector who might come along, is unmistakable; but she will stand, or sit, for hours on end in a Government anteroom, a vaccination queue, a union meeting, or a market, moving, writing, speaking, and, I suppose, voting exactly as she is expected to, without having to be told.

Relaxing in Sovietskaya Square Moscow Photo: V. Khukhlayev

Maybe they're unafraid, independent and happy; maybe not. How would I know? Or anyone else leaning out of the Metropol window? I've never been a Russian. I'm never going to be one. How, then, would I, or anyone else in the Metropol (or the Waldorf-Astoria) know what it is to be a Russian in Russia, or whether or why another people are happy or unhappy, or what they believe in, or what they oppose?

◆ ◆ ◆

And the Russian expatriates in America, our Russian experts, who tell us what to think about Russia, do they know what it is to be a Russian in Russia, these experiences of blood or caste or money or Trotskyism? Does an American Communist know what it is to be an American, or only what it is to be an alienated American?

St. Thomas said something about God—he said several things about God—that comes back to me. He said that getting to know God is like getting to know a country—you have got to live there. Maps and guide books and treatises, sermons, interviews, tours, and translations, are not enough. You have got to live there. And St. Francis said something about poverty—he said several things about poverty—that comes to me. He said that to know poverty one must be poor.

The Russians were poor and terrified of poverty. Maybe no other terror, now that they're no longer poor, terrifies them. I don't know. I can't compare. I am one of the rich. And you're another.

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis, of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters

DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE

6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1

DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon., a.m.
2. Include Date **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, November 7

DERBY: Central Hall. Canon Collins. CND.
GATESHEAD: 7.30 p.m. YMCA. Dr. George MacLeod, Stanley Orme, Dr. Cuttress. CND.
LONDON, W.2.: 8.30 p.m. Robert Crosbie Hse., 62 Queen's Gdns.. Peggy Darvell on Nuclear Disarmament. Indian Institute of World Cuture.
LONDON, W.8.: 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High Street, Kensington. CO Tribunal.
NEWCASTLE: 7.30 p.m. YMCA. Dr. George MacLeod, Stanley Orme, Dr. Cuttress. CND.

Friday to Sunday, November 7 to 9

JORDANS: Conference on "Worship and Meditation" org. by Fellowship of Friends of Truth. Details from V. G. Worthington, Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, Birmingham 29.

Saturday, November 8

ALTON: 7 p.m. "Woodlawn," Beech. Firework Party. Young Peaceseekers.
LONDON, E.17.: 3.30 p.m. William Morris Hall. Mtg. Walthamstow Advisory Bureau for COs. Neils Jonassen, Sec. Danish WRI.
LONDON, W.1.: 3 p.m. Ch. Hall, King's Weigh House Ch., Binney St. Bazaar. Opening by Sybil Morrison. "Look Through My Living Eye." Pictures, verse, music. PPU Religion Commission.
LONDON, W.C.1.: 10.30 a.m.—9 p.m. Westway Hotel, Endsleigh St., Bazaar to be opened by Lady Mayer in support of Commonwealth of World Citizens, refugees and work of IVS.
RUGBY: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., Regent Place. Speaker: Minnie Pallister. PPU.

Sunday, November 9

LONDON, W.C.1.: 3.30 p.m. 32 Tavistock Sq. Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse. Mrs. Lucy Norman "Arab Culture."

Monday, November 10

SHIPLEY: 7.30 p.m. Labour Party Rooms, Westgate. PPU.

Wednesday, November 12

BIRMINGHAM: 7 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse. Bull St., Film "Children of Hiroshima." PPU & CND.
BRIDGWATER: 7.30 p.m. Friends Hse., Stuart Morris "My Visit to Russia. Peace Group and World Friends.
LONDON, W.1.: 8.15 p.m. 7 Carlisle St., David T. Pitt (Prospective Labour Candidate for Hampstead) "Replacing the Law of Force by the Force of Law." LPF London Discussion Group.
SOUTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., Ordnance Rd., Allen Skinner "Pacifists and the Labour Party." PPU.
ST. LEONARDS-ON-SEA: 7 p.m. 78a Norman Rd. "The Search for Utopia," Minnie Pallister. Bring & Buy Stall. PPU.
WALLINGTON: 8 p.m. Public Hall. Ritchie Calder, Will Owen, MP., Dr. Tudor Hart. CND.
WORTHING: 7.30 p.m. Richmond Room. Donald Soper, Harold Steele. Chair: Harold Frampton, CND.

Thursday, November 13

BRISTOL: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., Gloucester Rd., Horfield. Stuart Morris "Talking Peace with Russia." PPU.
LONDON, N.15.: 8 p.m. Municipal Hall, The Green, Tottenham. Film "Shadow of Hiroshima." Dr. Hugh Gordon, Dr. Peter Astbury. Chair: Lady Morrison "Facts about the H-bomb."
OSWESTRY: 3—6.30 p.m. 15 Park Drive. Sale of Endsleigh Cards and Gifts. Tea. Profits to PN.
OXFORD: 8 p.m. Wesley Memorial Hall. Women's Mtg. Coun. Mrs. Olive Gibbs and Dr. Antoinette Pirie. Tape recording of the diary of a widow of Hiroshima victim. CND.

Friday, November 14

LONDON, E.17.: 8 p.m., 60 Orford Rd., Public Mtg. Miss M. Miller "Movement for Colonial Freedom." Walthamstow Peace Council.
LONDON, W.8.: 10.30 a.m. & 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High Street, Kensington. CO Tribunal.

Saturday, November 15

BATH: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., York St., Stuart Morris on his visit to Russia. PPU.

Saturday and Sunday, November 15 and 16

ST. IVES: Weekend Conference, "The Race Problem in Modern Society." Details from H. King, 18 Penventon Terr., Redruth, Cornwall. PPU & FoR.

Monday, November 17

LONDON, S.W.1.: 10.30 a.m. & 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge Hse., Ebury Br. Rd., CO Appellate Tribunal.
LONDON, W.C.1.: 6 Endsleigh St., 6 p.m. Tea. 6.30 p.m. Stuart Morris on Current Affairs. PPU.

Tuesday, November 18

BIRMINGHAM: 7.30 p.m. Priory Room, Friends Mtg. Hse., Bull St., Eric Baker, Secretary of National Peace Council, on Cyprus. FoR.
E. SHEEN: 8 p.m. Vernon Hall, Vernon Rd., Douglas Tilbe "Labour Party Policy." PPU.

Wednesday, November 19

BELFAST: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., Frederick St. Howard Horsburgh "The Ethics of Trust." FoR.

Thursday, November 20

LONDON, N.13.: 8 p.m. 33 Devonshire Rd., Dr. Holt Roberts "Can Pacifism avoid the Cross?" PPU.

****

Every week!

SUNDAYS

LONDON: 3 p.m. Hyde Park. Speaker's Corner. Pacifist Forum, PYAG.
BRADFORD: 8.15 p.m. Broadway Car Park. Open air meeting. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

SATURDAYS

LONDON, W.C.1.: Assemble 3 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St., Poster Parade to Manette St., for meeting at 4.15 p.m. PPU & PYAG.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON, N.4: 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

****

LOOKING BACK OVER 70 YEARS, FENNER BROCKWAY, MP, DISCERNS THE BIGGER CHALLENGE

'FAIR SHARES FOR THE WORLD'

I'VE completed my seventieth year and friends have arranged birthday parties and people have written to me from all parts of the world.

I am grateful and moved; but all this is 20 years too soon. Old age is now retreating wherever there are conditions of health. The other day I was present at the ninetieth birthday of an aunt. She stood more straight-backed than I—and delivered a much better speech.

But even a seventieth birthday is a milestone, and it's as well sometimes to look back over the years. I will share my birthday thoughts with you.

I grew in my teens to be angry with poverty, to hate war, to love liberty and to regard all human beings, whatever their tongue, race or colour, as brothers.

Poverty no longer chronic

The poverty of Pentonville made me a socialist. I lived at a Christian social mission. I remember one day a girl of 14 being carried into our clinic. She had collapsed in the street from hunger; she had had no food for three days except some tomatoes picked up under a barrow in the market. Pentonville was rife with sweated home trades. I remember the shock of seeing two women feverishly folding cardboard boxes at a table which bore the coffin of a sister; they could not afford to stop working. Hardly a man had a full week's work. I flamed with anger as I saw this hunger by the side of luxury in London.

As late as the thirties I wrote a book called "Hungry England," describing the conditions in our wide depressed areas—the mining valleys of Wales, the textile towns of Lancashire, the streets round the empty shipyards of Glasgow and Newcastle.

We have put that behind us in Britain. We still have poverty, among the aged, the disabled, the widowed; the human casualties of life whom a generous society would cherish first. But the mass of our people now have food, clothing, accommodation and a comfortable chair and a football match on Saturday afternoon. The chronic epidemic of poverty has gone from our island.

Decisive moment

Is the battle against poverty won? No, no, no! It has only just begun. Hunger, more unrelieved, more continuous than anything I ever saw in Pentonville or South Wales, ruins human life and happiness over two-thirds of the earth. I am 70 and well. In the greater part of the earth the expectation of life is less than 40. It is so for millions in Asia and Africa.

"Fair shares for all" was Labour's captivating appeal in Britain at the end of the last war. We haven't got it, but we've got for most in our land a minimum share for all above poverty.

This is not the end. The bigger task remains. It is is to achieve "fair shares for the world."

To the Socialist of 50 years ago hatred of militarism and war was inseparable from our faith. We had learned it from Keir Hardie. We hated poverty because it mutilated and destroyed life. We hated war because it did so deliberately, and, in addition, denied human brotherhood.

We do not seem to have got very far. We have had two world wars since then. We have the hydrogen bomb. Nevertheless, I believe we have gone a long way. There is a far wider opinion against war now, for more constructive international effort.

We are reaching the decisive moment. An accident, an irresponsible judgment by the head of a government—and human destruction could come. On the other side, there are all the tendencies and possibilities of science to link the world and to make it a place of satisfaction and opportunity.

Do young socialists today deplore the absense of a call and a mission? It is here, far more urgent and vital, than 50 years ago

I was a radical before I was a socialist, and liberty was a part of my socialism. Away back in 1906 I was the Liberal agent in my little village in Kent, and I remember the posters against "Chinese slavery" in South Africa at a time when it was proposed to ship Chinese indentured labourers to the gold mines at Kimberley.

Liberty Still urgent

Has liberty grown? Personal liberty? I don't know. I am shocked that socialists, not to mention Communists, accept detentions and deportations without trial. The soul of democratic socialism must be personal liberty.

National liberty? There can be no doubt how this has grown. I have the verbatim note of the first speech I ever made. It was on the subject of India and it was based on Keir Hardie's book on his return from that country. I am startled by the conservatism of that book and speech. We advocated the joint rule by British and Indians fifty-fifty! That was revolutionary then. Keir Hardie would have been deported from Bengal if he had not left of his own accord.

Five hundred million subject people in the British Empire then. Seventy millions now. With Nigerian independence, 35,000,000 in two years' time. This is the political revolution of this century.

But there is urgency as never before. Cyprus, Central Africa, Kenya!

Most fundamental of all is the conviction of human equality, the fulfilment of human personality irrespective of class, race, colour. Are we better or worse in this respect?

In class, better. Even 50 years ago the barrier of class could hardly be passed. I remember Bernard Shaw saying to our ILP branch that there was no hope of producing the superman so long as the Archbishop of Canterbury could not marry his charwoman. Today no one would be very startled if he did.

Class and colour

Race, colour? We have South Africa, Central Africa, Little Rock, Notting Hill. But we have far stronger repugnance to their intolerances. America typifies the change. I visited the United States in the thirties and again two years ago. The greatest contrast was to see whites and Negroes sitting side by side in trains even in southern Texas. That would have been unthinkable 25 years ago.

But all these root issues remain a challenge. The battle has not yet been won even in mind and spirit. Conviction has still to spread. The battle has for most of the world hardly begun in practical application.

This generation faces the greatest crisis in all human history—whether man's scientific advance shall be used for death or life. And when we have decided that, we have to decide whether it shall be used to end poverty and inequality the world over, whether it shall be used for liberty in the brotherhood of all peoples.

I'll make another progress report in twenty years' time.

Copyright reserved to author in India and Africa.

PPU RELIGION COMMISSION
Pacifist Universalist Service
3.30 p.m. SUNDAY, November 9
FRIENDS INTERNATIONAL CENTRE
32 Tavistock Square, Euston
Discourse by Mrs. Lucy Norman
"ARAB CULTURE"

PPU RELIGION COMMISSION
BAZAAR
and
"Look Through my Living Eye"
A dramatic sequence by Antony Bates
Saturday November 8
King's Weigh House Church,
Church Hall, Binney St., W.1.
(opposite Selfridges)
3 p.m. Opening by Sybil Morrison
Proceeds for PPU and Peace News Funds

CLASSIFIED

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, min. 2s 6d. (Box No. 1s. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION

A VEGETARIAN GUEST HOUSE in the heart of the Lake District, Rothay Bank, Grasmere, Westmorland, offers comfortable rooms and expertly planned meals, attention to those requiring rest as well as facilities for walkers, climbers, motorists. Large garden with views of fells.—Isabel James, Telephone: Grasmere 334.

RECULVER LODGE, BELTINGE, Kent. Join our Christmas house-party. Vegetarians especially welcome. Bookings being taken for 1959. Box 800.

SWANAGE. Vegetarian guest house overlooking sea re-opening Easter. Home-made bread, cakes, salads. Own garden and farm produce. High standard catering. Children's playroom. Brochure: Goldings, Waveney, Park Rd. Phone 2804.

ACCOMMODATION

HOMELY ACCOMMODATION and jolly good food for visitors and permanent guests. CANonbury 1340. Telkea Shayler, 27 Hamilton Pk., N.5.

PERSONAL

THE BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP invites your support. For details of membership write: Rev. Leslie Worsnip, 63 Loughborough Rd., Quorn, Leics.

GOING ABROAD? Maintain, advocate and urge liberty of freedom to travel without vaccination, invoke Clause 83 International Sanitary Regulations. Enquire, and/or send donation, National Anti-Vaccination League, 2nd Floor, 26/28 Warwick Way, London, S.W.1.

If YOU SHOP at a Co-op please give this number when making your next purchase:
L 3 3 6 9 4 3
Your dividend will then be gratefully received by the Secretary, PEACE NEWS, 3 BLACKSTOCK ROAD, LONDON, N.4.

TYPING UNDERTAKEN. Letters, Notes, Mss. 250 words 6d. plus postage, carbon copies 2d. Box 801.

VEGETARIAN PACIFIST; bachelor American, age 29, both merry and quiet-natured; with music, reading, travel, photography, among quite varied interests. Seeks to contact by correspondence or in person, in America or abroad: lady age 18 to 30, vegetarian or sympathetic, with view to marriage. Please answer in first instance with photo to Box 799. All letters replied to in confidence.

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middx.

LITERATURE

FREE INTRODUCTION. Send us the names and addresses of friends likely to be interested in PEACE NEWS. They will receive complimentary copies and an invitation to take eight weeks' trial subscription for 2s. 6d. Sales Organiser, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

"LIBERTE," the French pacifist weekly. 36s. a year, 20s. 6 months. (US $5 seamail, $10 airmail, a year)from Housemans (Peace News bookshop), 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends' Home Service Cttee., Friends House, Euston Rd., London N.W.1

THE RAILWAY REVIEW. The only and best informed TU newspaper. Trade Union and political news; Railway problems and working conditions featured in every issue. Every Friday. 12 pages. 4d.

THE BIGGEST BOOKSELLERS IN THE WORLD USSR TODAY. Keep up-to-date; read "Soviet Weekly," lavishly illustrated, price 3d. Subscription 3s. 3d. quarterly, from Dept. P.N., 3 Rosary Gdns., London S.W.7.

FOR SALE

BIRTHDAY SUBSCRIPTIONS: Solve the present problem by giving your friends a subscription to PEACE NEWS. Eight weeks' introductory postal subscription 2s 6d. Birthday card 6d. extra. Subscription Dept., Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

PEACE DIARY for 1959 now available, with 32 page World Directory of Peace Organisations and Periodicals. 3s. 6d. (postage 4d.) from Endsleigh Cards (Peace News Ltd.) 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. (Full Christmas List available).

SITUATIONS VACANT

PEACE NEWS OFFICE IS OPEN up to 9 p.m. *every Wednesday evening* for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 2 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish and Cook, stationers). Finsbury Park (near sta.), N.4.

TRIBUNE
for all news and views on the campaign against nuclear madness
EVERY FRIDAY 6d.
from all newsagents

PEACE NEWS

1,167 Nov. 7, 1958 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

THE MONTGOMERY ALLEGATIONS

☐ FROM PAGE ONE

taken reading it "that few officers have enough time to think."

So the question of whether H-bombs are to be dropped may depend on the advice and judgment of men who have not "enough time to think."

I am not one who complains about Montgomery's book having embarrassed the politicians.

Earl Attlee seemed to be complaining in last Sunday's Observer that some things written by Montgomery should not have been published just yet because of the sorrow they will revive among those who lost their relations during the war.

I disagree. The more we know about what happened during the last war behind the scenes and what mistakes the politicians and the military men made, the more we will be in a position to know how wars are run and what risks and gambles are taken with human lives.

If, as Lord Montgomery says, the Nato nations spent in 1956 "over £20,000,000,000 in their defence budgets" which he rightly calls "a vast sum," we ought to call a halt now.

Begin now

What is the Labour Party Front Bench going to do about it?

When Nato was founded and when the House of Commons was asked to ratify the North Atlantic Treaty which set up the organisation, Mr. Ernest Bevin defended it on the ground that it was going to save us money!

If what Montgomery says is true we have all spent an enormous amount of money which has not given us predominant military strength in Europe at all.

It intensified the arms race and speeded up the production of the H-bomb.

And today the British Field-Marshal, who has done more than any other persons in the country to build up this war organisation in Europe, wants it "ruthlessly pruned."

I agree. But when and how is the pruning going to begin?

THE GREAT BETRAYAL

● FROM PAGE ONE

was completely at variance with that portrayed in the legend, and there was no such financial action as was implied. But it was a long time before it was revealed how Mr. Morgenthau got this story. It was known that he was an honourable man, and not even the most severe critics of the myth charged that he had deliberately concocted and disseminated a lie.

Many years later, Paul Schwarz, who was the personal secretary to the German Ambassador in Constantinople, Baron Hans von Wangenheim, revealed the facts. Von Wangenheim had a mistress in Berlin and, in the early days of the crisis of 1914, she demanded that he return at once to Berlin to settle some critical matters with her.

He complied and, to conceal from his wife the real reason for his making the trip, he told her that the Kaiser had suddenly summoned him to Berlin. On his return, he told his wife about the fanciful Crown Council that he had dreamed up. Shortly after this, with his wife by his side, von Wangenheim met Morgenthau, then the American Ambassador at Constantinople, at a diplomatic reception.

Morgenthau had heard about von Wangenheim's trip to Berlin and pressed him as to what had happened. Under the circumstances, von Wangenheim could only repeat the myth he had told his wife. To what extent liquor may have lessened his restraint and how much Morgenthau and Hendrick elaborated on what von Wangenheim actually told Morgenthau are not known and probably never will be.

LIES COST LIVES

This fantastic tale demonstrates how momentous and tragic events may hang on the most palpable fabrications. Since Morgenthau's book did not appear until 1918, his tale about the fictitious Crown Council had a great influence upon Allied propaganda against Germany at the end of the War. It was used in Lloyd George's campaign of 1918 advocating the hanging of the Kaiser and by the more vindictive makers of the Treaty of Versailles.

It is quite possible that, otherwise, the latter would never have been able to write the war-guilt clause into the Treaty. Since historians are agreed that it was the Treaty of Versailles which prepared the way for the second World War, the hare-brained von Wangenheim alibi of July, 1914, may have had some direct relation to the sacrifice of millions of lives and astronomical expenditures of money in the wars since 1939, with the possibility that the ultimate consequences may be the extermination of much of the human race through nuclear warfare.

THE FALSE CLUE

Another item which was used to inflame opinion against the Germans was their invasion of Belgium. The Allied propaganda presented this as the main reason for the entry of England into the War and the final proof of the charge that the Germans had no regard for international law or the rights of small nations. Revisionist scholars proved that the British and French had for some time been considering the invasion of Belgium in the event of a European war, and that English officers had travelled over Belgium carefully surveying the terrain against this contingency.

Further, the Germans offered to respect the neutrality of Belgium in return for British neutrality in the War. Finally, John Burns, one of the two members of the British Cabinet who resigned when Britain made the decision for war in 1914, told me (Barnes) personally in the summer of 1927 that the Cabinet decision for war had been made before a word had been said about the Belgian issue.

The following year the "Memorandum on Resignation" of the famed John Morley, the other Cabinet members who resigned in 1914 as a protest against the war policy, fully confirmed Burns' account of the matter.

A third leading allegation which produced violent feelings against the Germans in the first World War was the charge that they had committed unique and brutal atrocities against civilians, especially in Belgium—mutilating children, women and the helpless generally. They were said to have utilised the bodies of dead German and Allied soldiers to make fertilisers and soap, and otherwise to have behaved like degraded beasts.

The distinguished British publicist, Lord James Bryce, was induced to lend his name to the authentication of these atrocity reports. After the war a large number of books riddled these atrocity tales, notably Sir Arthur Ponsonby's "Falsehood in Wartime" and J. M. Read's "Atrocity Propaganda."

The first World War was no picnic, but no informed scholar today believes that any considerable part of the alleged atrocities actually took place, or that the Germans were any more guilty of atrocious conduct than the other particapants in the war, concludes Prof. Barnes.

SMOKE SCREEN OVER 1939-45

These are all matters that have been well known to historians for many years now, but they are certainly not well known to ordinary people in Britain. The reasons for this are obvious. If you have been fooled about one war, you may not be so ready to fight in the next war. So there has been a conspiracy of silence so far as the general circulation of these ideas is concerned.

The situation with regard to the causes of the Second World War is much worse. After 1918 historians were able to ascertain and publish the truth about the war, even if it was not possible to publicise their findings on a large scale. But since 1945 every effort has been made to prevent impartial historians from finding out the truth and publishing it. Before we discover the truth about the Second World War we may all have been blown to pieces.

Because we think that it is important that we should be quite clear about the beginnings and nature of the Second World War, Peace News will publish, beginning next week, a series or articles on some of the problems and aspects of the war. We hope that this series will play a part in making sure that there will be no Remembrance Sunday for the victims of a Third World War (if there are *any* people left to remember).

ROSE MACAULAY

By Stuart Morris

General Secretary, Peace Pledge Union

"THANK you so much. I was most delighted to get your letter. People are so kind and nice about this rather comic title. My best wishes for 1958," was the last message I had from Rose Macaulay when I wrote to congratulate her on the appearance of her name in the New Year Honours list. She well deserved such recognition, for she was one of the most admired and enjoyed of the writers of her generation.

Her books reveal something of the courage, humour and liberality of a striking and attractive personality. The moral courage which made her so outspoken on all matters which seemed to her to involve injustice led her to give her keen support to the Peace Pledge Union in its early days and to remain a sponsor until the outbreak of World War II. Then her resentment of any form of dictatorship was so strong that her pacifism was not able to withstand the challenge of Hitler. Nevertheless, she retained an interest in the Peace Pledge Union, and much though many of her friends regretted the loss of her active support, we must all remember with gratitude the contribution which she made to pacifism and her continued support for other good causes.

By Sybil Morrison

'We will remember them'

They shall not grow old as we that are left grow old,
Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn;
At the going down of the sun, and in the morning
We will remember them.—For the Fallen. Lawrence Binyon.

THE eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month was not, as my generation for so long believed, a mere strange chance of German capitulation at that particular time; on the contrary it was specially arranged, and up to the last inexorable stroke of eleven o'clock, on that long ago November day in 1918, young men were engaged in killing each other.

In those last hours, waiting for the mechanism of the calendar and the clock to bring in the synchronisation desired for playing on the emotions of peoples at home, men suffered and died.

In the breathless hush of the first anniversary in 1919, when every sound, except the cooing of pigeons and twittering of birds was stilled, most of those waiting during the two silent minutes were moved by an almost unbearable tension and emotion. Nevertheless, it is almost certain that real thought was as suspended as sound; some may have prayed, but most were unable to even think.

Later, when Lawrence Binyon's now famous words were engraved upon the Unknown Warrior's tomb, people began to follow the idea of assuaging grief with pride; they began to pretend that there were, after all, compensations for dying young, though it is doubtful if those whose husbands and lovers, sons and fathers were dead, could do anything other than grasp at the Armistice Day ceremonies as something tangible for comfort in their desolation.

Now that another world war has been fought, and far from bringing peace has brought mankind face to face with the possibility of an even worse conflict, the Armistice Day rites have been given a new designation. It is no longer called Armistice Day, but Remembrance Sunday; it is no longer held on November 11, but on the Sunday nearest to that date; the emphasis is, in fact, laid upon it as a day of religious observance.

At the Cenotaph the clergy are gathered; in churches all over the country special services are held, but all is surrounded with the panoply of war. Flags of regiments are carried into little country churches, regimental bands play, bugles sound the last post, and everywhere there is the regalia of a military ceremony.

These men whom we remember, and about whom the sermons are preached, and the prayers uttered, are invariably said to have "given" their lives in a great cause. Yet, the hard fact is that they had no choice, for even those in the first world war who were not conscripted were under the tremendous compulsion of patriotic propaganda.

The eagerness to rush to "the colours" which that propaganda achieved was not apparent when the shadow of the second world war threw its menacing blackness over another generation. Nevertheless, when the final call came to fight in yet another cause, conscription was accepted as quite inevitable, and even right.

They had no choice; they did not *give* their lives; they obeyed orders and killed, or were killed. It is this, and this alone we should remember on Remembrance Day; it is useless to pretend that those who died have been saved something through not growing old. These are lovely, but quite meaningless words; they have been deprived of, not saved from, the great experience of living; years do not necessarily condemn; on the contrary, they bring enlightenment and understanding, and all the riches of companionship and love, of tranquility as well as struggle, of joy as well as sorrow, of knowledge and beauty and fulfilment.

The dead in two world wars have been most bitterly betrayed by those who have lived to grow old. Remembrance Day should not be used for the parade of military symbols and the glorification of wars; the only fit remembrance is one of repentance for the crime of war, and dedication to the struggle for the safety of future generations.

In the name of humanity, and in the name of those who have died, war must be renounced.

Published by Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4, and Printed in Great Britain by Fish & Cook Ltd., 135 Fonthill Road, N.4.